DANTE AND MEDIEVAL THOUGHT.

II.—THE THEOLOGY OF DANTE CONTINUED.

WE have seen how Dante, finding in all finite beings traces of the divine workmanship, yet regards man as in a peculiar sense made in the image of God. Following Aristotle, as interpreted by Aquinas, he maintains that while man is a being composed of soul and body, he differs from all other beings in the possession of reason. In virtue of this faculty he can make the essence or form of things an object of thought, and thus he is enabled, ascending from lower to higher phases of knowledge, at last to reach a certain knowledge of God. With the faculty of reason is connected the power of free volition, the greatest gift of God to man, and that which makes him most like God. The first man was directly created by God in immortality, holiness and righteousness, but in his pride or self-will he disobeyed the command of God, and involved in his fall the whole of his posterity, whose representative he was.

It is significant that, while Dante accepts the Augustinian doctrine of original sin, he does not hold that the fall of Adam has destroyed the desire for goodness or the freedom of the human will. According to Augustine the human race has been so corrupted by the fall that it cannot do otherwise than sin (*non posse non peccare*), whereas Dante maintains that man has a natural desire for truth and goodness, and falls into error and sin only because he is led astray by "some vestige of that, ill recognized, which shines through them." Freedom of will, again, which seems to him the indispensable condition of moral responsibility, he seeks to justify by the Aristotelian conception of the rational soul as a "substantial form, independent of matter and yet united to it." By a "substantial form" is meant an independent reality, containing within itself a store of energy, which it exhibits in its effects. Like God and the angels, man is self-active, though unlike them he is united to a body which is the instrument of the soul. Because of this union there are certain primitive desires which do

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not proceed from the man himself, but, when he becomes conscious of them, the free inherent energy of his own nature enables him to choose between them. Hence arises his moral responsibility for the evil which he does.

In this modification of the Augustinian doctrine Dante shows the influence of the free spirit of the Germanic peoples, and of that conception of a rational human life which was due partly to the influence of Aristotle. But this is not the full explanation of the change; for, in recognizing the freedom of man, with its corollaries of moral responsibility and sin, Dante is the ex-exponent of ideas which are inseparable from the Christian idea of life. It was Christianity that first brought to light the infinite importance of the individual soul. In the pantheistic religions of the East the higher life is conceived to consist, not in the active realization of the true self, but in the annihilation of will. The natural man is under the illusion that his own personal fate is of supreme importance, and the first step in the higher life is to get rid of this illusion. Blessedness is to be found only in liberation from all personal desires. The Greek conception of life, again, fails to recognize the importance of individual freedom for another reason. In the objective institutions of society man finds his true good, and so long as the state is secure the life of the individual is in itself of no importance. This is the doctrine to which Plato has given expression in his *Republic*, though no doubt we may see in his ideal state a virtual recognition of the inadequacy of the Greek conception. Christianity, on the other hand, affirms the supreme importance of the individual and his responsibility for his own acts. In this sense we may say that prior to Christianity there was no clear consciousness of sin as the act of the individual. Of this consciousness Dante is one of the most powerful exponents. His whole conception of life is dominated by it, and his pictures of the future life, as he tells us himself, are at the same time a presentation of the spiritual condition of man in this life, as by the good or ill use of his freedom he becomes worthy of reward or punishment.

There is, however, another side to Dante's thought. While he recognizes the freedom and responsibility of the individual, he is also aware that the individual cannot be separated from the race; and hence he insists upon the doctrine of the Church, that

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evil came into the world by the original sin of Adam and has descended to all his posterity. Thus in the doctrine of the Fall he seemed to find the complement or correction of the truth that the individual is purely self-determined. It can hardly be said, however, that Dante gives us any reconciliation of these opposite aspects of truth: he rather sets them down side by side than attempts to reconcile them; nor indeed can they be reconciled without going beyond the external and mechanical form of the doctrine of original sin and grasping the essential truth which it contains.

The doctrine of original sin as held by Dante draws its support largely from an uncritical reading of the Pauline epistles, and especially of the classical passage in the epistle to the Romans, in which a contrast is drawn between Adam and Christ. That passage has been understood in a way that misses the central idea which the Apostle is seeking to enforce. In various parts of his writings St. Paul draws a distinction between the man who is dead in sin, the man who is conscious of sin, and the man who is delivered from sin. This distinction, in the epistle to the Romans, he applies on a large scale to the course of human history, mainly with the object of proving to his countrymen the necessity of the new revelation of the nature of God as manifested in Christ. In the opening chapters he shows, by an appeal to notorious facts, that the heathen world was sunk in wickedness, although it was self-condemned when tried even by its own imperfect standard of goodness. The source of this moral degradation he finds in a perverted conception of the divine nature. The necessity of a new principle to lift the heathen world out of its religious and moral degradation is, he argues, too plain to need elaboration. But can we say the same of the Jew? Practically the Jew assumes that, because in the Law he has a clear revelation of the divine nature, no further revelation is needed. He fails to observe that the possession of this law has not brought him into a right relation to God. In truth the Law was never meant to produce righteousness, but only to create a vivid consciousness of sin. This is manifest from Scripture itself, as where we read that "there is none righteous, no not one." The only way in which man can be brought into a right relation to God is by faith, as indeed is repeatedly affirmed in the Scriptures themselves.

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Having thus shown that all mankind, Jew as well as Gentile, are by nature sinful, that all are more or less clearly conscious of this guilt, and that only by faith can they come into communion with God, the Apostle divides the history of mankind into three great periods. The first period extends from Adam to Moses, the second from Moses to Christ, the third from Christ to the end of the world. In the first man was sinful but was not clearly conscious of his sinfulness. It may be objected that as the Moral Law had not yet been revealed there could be no transgression. But this objection the Apostle meets by pointing out that if there had been no sin, there would have been no death. In the second period there was the clearest consciousness of sin, because the Law had defined in plain terms wherein sin consisted. In the third period begins the supreme revelation of the infinite grace or love of God, and of faith as the only source of righteousness, or the right relation of man to God. The main idea, therefore, which the Apostle has in his mind is the natural sinfulness of the whole human race from the very beginning of its existence. It is in this connection that he is led to refer to Adam. He is not thinking of Adam as sinning for his posterity, but he is bent upon showing that the natural sinfulness of man has manifested itself in every one of his descendents. The idea of sin as externally transmitted from Adam to his posterity is entirely foreign to St. Paul's way of thinking: what he wishes to show is that all mankind are by nature in alienation from God, and can come into union with Him only by a new birth of the spirit. The coarse juridical notion of a punishment imposed upon the human race because of the sin of the first man is due to the false interpretation of minds familiar with Roman law, who did not distinguish between sin and crime. This conception, first formulated by Augustine, was naturally adopted by Aquinas, from whom Dante received it. It was subsequently made a central idea by Calvin, whose mind was in many respects akin to that of Augustine, and it survives even to the present day.

Dante's conception of salvation is the logical complement of his doctrine of original sin. There are two ways in which man might conceivably be liberated from sin: either God might pardon him out of pure mercy, or man might expiate his sin by a humility correspondent to its magnitude. The former conflicts

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with the justice of God, the latter is impossible because man could not undergo a humiliation proportionate to the self-assertion implied in disobedience to the will of God. Hence God offered up his Son in man's stead, thus reconciling infinite justice with infinite mercy. We shall in vain seek to comprehend the mystery of the Incarnation; yet divine illumination enables us to obtain a glimpse into it; for we can see that it was the work of the eternal Love, the Holy Spirit, and that, although there is in the "Word made flesh" a union of the divine and human, the two natures yet remain distinct.

This doctrine has the same fundamental defect as the medieval conception of Original Sin. As in explaining the origin of the world God is conceived to be a divine Architect or an external Creator; as in accounting for the ascending scale of being He is conceived to be the Final Cause towards whom all things tend; so now He is regarded as a Judge before whom a criminal is brought receive sentence. A Judge has no power to tamper with the law: his function is simply to administer it; and hence God is conceived as bound by the immutable law that every offender must be punished in exact proportion to his offence. The sin of man, however, is infinite, because it consists in his seeking to equalize himself with God, and therefore the only adequate punishment is eternal death. On the other hand, God is not merely a Judge, but also a merciful Father, and therefore disposed to forgive the sinner from pure Mercy. But as this would conflict with his Justice, divine Wisdom conceived, and divine Love realized, the vicarious punishment of man in the person of the Son of God.

Now, it is impossible to state this highly artificial doctrine without seeing that it is the product of conflicting ideas which are not reconciled but simply set down side by side. The starting point is the conception of personal sin, one of the central ideas of Christianity. Dante, powerfully impressed, like all the thinkers of his day, with the conception of immutable law as the corner-stone of all social order, naturally enough identifies sin with crime, and therefore conceives of God as an inexorable Judge. But sin is not crime, nor can God be conceived as a Judge. Crime is the violation of the personal rights of another: it is an offence against the external order of the State, and must be expiated by an external punishment. Sin, on the other hand,

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is not the violation of the rights of others, but the desecration of the ideal nature of the sinner, the willing of himself as in his essence he is not. Hence sin requires no external punishment to bring it home to the sinner : it brings its own punishment with it in the destruction of the higher life, the realization of which is blessedness. In man, by virtue of the divine principle in him, the consciousness of God is bound up with the consciousness of himself, and he cannot do violence to the one without doing violence to the other. Hence God is not a Judge, allotting punishment according to an external law, but the perfectly holy Being, by reference to whom man condemns himself. No external punishment can transform the spiritual nature. The criminal, after undergoing punishment, may be more hardened in his crime than ever, and yet society must punish him, because its function is to preserve the social bond, which by his act the criminal has assailed. But religion has in view, not the preservation of social order, but the regeneration of the individual: it deals with the inner nature of the man, not with the result of his act upon society; and hence, unless it transforms and spiritualizes him it fails entirely of its end. It is for this reason that the medieval Church in inflicting external puishment violated its very essence. All such punishment is contradictory of the very idea of religion, and therefore of the nature of God.

When Dante says that the sin of Adam consisted in pride, or the attempt to equalize himself with God, he strangely intermingles truth and falsehood. The truth implied in his view is, that in so far as man seeks to realize his true self in separation from God, *i.e.*, in willing his own good in isolation from the good of his fellow-men, he brings upon himself spiritual death. This idea, as we shall see, Dante grasped with marvellous clearness; it is, indeed, the principle by the application of which he peoples his Inferno. But this truth is obscured by the vulgar notion that the sin of man was pride, or an attempt to equalize himself with God—a notion obviously based upon the conception of God as a Ruler whose majesty must be asserted. This pagan conception, drawn mainly from the idea of Cæsar, as the representative of order and law, is entirely foreign to the Christian idea of God. Even Plato sees that "in God there can be no envy." Dante himself virtually denies this utterly false conception of

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God, when he speaks of the Incarnation as proceeding from the infinite love of God. Here at last we come upon the only purely Christian idea in the whole doctrine. Stripped of its artificial form it affirms that the very nature of God is self-sacrifice : that, loving his creatures with an infinite love, He can realize His own blessedness only in them. This is the essential idea in the new way of salvation. Man can be saved only as he realizes in himself the spirit of Christ. In taking upon himself the burden of the race he lives a divine life. This is the secret which Christ revealed, and to have made this secret practically our own is to be justified by faith.

If there were the least doubt that Dante was a faithful son of the Catholic Church, the place which the Virgin Mary occupies in his theological creed would be enough to set it at rest. She pervades the whole of the Divine comedy with her benign influence. So great is Dante's reverence for her, that in the Inferno she is never mentioned by name. When the poet shrinks from the awful task of entering the spiritual world, he receives courage to undertake it by being told that "a noble Lady in Heaven" has such sympathy with his irresolution that she "breaks the stern judgment there on high." Mary is thus the representative of that divine mercy from which the whole work of salvation proceeds. In the Purgatory she appears as the compassionate helper of repentant souls. When Buonconte, flying wildly through the night from the battle of Campaldino, falls by the shore of the Archiano, he calls on the name of Mary, and his soul is snatched from the Evil One by an Angel of God. In the valley of the Princes, the souls who had delayed repentance, sit, singing *Salve Regina*, on the grass and flowers. On the second terrace the souls who are expiating the sin of envy, cry "Mary, pray for us!" In the fifth circle the souls lying prostrate, purging themselves of the sins of avarice and prodigality, cry "Sweet Mary" like a woman in travail, and recall how she was so poor that "in a hostelry she laid down her sacred burden." Her humility is shown in the picture of the Annunciation, sculptured on the rock of the first circle. "There was pictured she who turned the key to open the love of God." In a vision Dante sees her in the third circle as the embodiment of patience, "with the sweet gesture of a mother, saying: 'My son, why hast thou so dealt

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with us?' Behold thy father and I were seeking the sorrowing." The slothful recall how Mary "ran with haste into the hill-country." The intemperate remember that "Mary thought more how the marriage-feast should be honourable and complete than of her mouth, which now answers for you." The two Angels who guard the valley of the Princes from the evil serpent "came from the bosom of Mary." In heaven her praise is celebrated by all the Saints, who circle round her. When, at the close of his vision, Dante sees the white rose of Paradise, Mary is seated on high, "her face most resembling Christ." "I saw upon her," says the poet, "such gladness shower . . . . that all I had yet seen held me suspended in no such wonder, nor showed me such likeness of God. And that love which first descended thereon, singing *Ave Maria, gratia plena,* in front of her spread out his wings. To the divine song responded on all sides the holy choir, so that every face grew more serene." To paint her divine beauty is impossible; "had I as great power of speech as of imagination, I should not dare to attempt the least of her sweetness." St. Bernard addresses to her the following prayer, which is the very essence of supplication:

" O Virgin Mother, daughter of thy Son,
  Lowlier and loftier than all creatures seen,
  Goal of the counsels of the Eternal One,
Thyself art she who this our nature mean
  Hast so ennobled that its Maker great
  Designed to become what through it made had been.
In thy blest womb the Love renewed its heat
  By whose warm glow in this our peace eterne
  This heavenly flower first did germinate.
Here, in Love's noon-tide brightness, thou dost burn
  For us in glory; and to mortal sight
  Art living fount of hope to all that yearn.
Lady, thou art so great and of such might
  That he who seeks grace yet turns not to thee,
  Would have his prayer, all wingless, take its flight;
Nor only doth thy kind benignity
  Give help to him who asks, but many a time
  Doth it prevent the prayer in bounty free.
In thee is mercy, pity, yea sublime
  Art thou in greatness, and in thee, with it,
  Whate'er of good is in creation's clime.
He who stands here, who, from the lowest pit
  Of all creation, to this point hath pass'd
  The lines of Spirits, each in order fit,

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On thee for grace of strength himself doth cast,
So that he may his eyes in vision raise
Upwards to that salvation noblest, last."*

At the close of this prayer "the eyes beloved and reverenced of God, fixed on him who prayed, showed us how pleasing to her are devout prayers. They to the Eternal Light were then directed, into which we may not deem that by a creature the eye is able so clearly to penetrate." Mary is thus from first to last the mediator between man and God.

Nowhere is Dante more obviously the exponent of the medieval mind than in the reverence he shows for "the Virgin Mother, daughter of her Son." The position he assigns to her is a poetic rendering of a passage in St. Bonaventura's *Speculum Beatœ Virginis*. "This, I say, is Mary, who was most free from the Seven Capital Vices. For Mary against *pride* was most lowly through humility; against *envy* most affectionate through charity; agaist *anger* most meek through gentleness; against *unconcern* most unwearied through application; Mary against *avarice* was simple through poverty; Mary against *gluttony* was most temperate through sobriety; Mary against *luxury* was most chaste through virginity. All these things we learn from these Scriptures in which we find the name of Mary expressed." It is not hard to understand the depth of devotional reverence which gathered about the name of Mary, though it would be difficult to disentangle the complexity which contributed to it. She is the living symbol of that humility, charity, gentleness, alacrity in kindly offices, renunciation of wealth and charity, which is the medieval ideal of the womanly as distinguished from the manly type of character and which was embodied in the gentle unworldly life of the monastic Saint. Such an ideal exercised a purifying influence in an age when strong and ungovernable passion was only too prevalent. It sprang from the same root as the chivalrous devotion to women which expressed itself in the lays of the troubadour, but it was associated with the deeper religious consciousness which Christianity had introduced. In this aspect of it we can see how it came in to give vividness and reality to the abstractions of a dualistic theology. The separation of God from the world led to the idea of His incomprehensibility; the con-

*Paradise 33, 1 ff; Plumptre's translation,

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ception of Him as a stern Judge who inexorably punished sin plunged man in despair; and though this idea was partly transcended in the doctrine of the Incarnation, yet the self-sacrificing earthly life of Christ was so overshadowed by His transcendent heavenly life that its power to awaken love and imitation was almost gone. Thus the love of God, which in theory was affirmed, had lost its practical influence. The repentant sinner, touched with the keenness of remorse, did not feel that that love had any definite bearing on his own life. Thus Mary came to take the place which Christ occupied in the heart of the Christian of an early age. Her soft sympathy he could understand, while yet she was removed from the ordinary sphere of his everyday life, and was thus able to appear in his imagination as the living symbol of divine Mercy. It may be added that the same movement of the mind which found in Mary the concrete presentation of the mercy of God, led to the creation of the host of Saints who figure in the Catholic calendar. Just as Christ had more and more ceased to be human, so Mary became more and more divine, and her place was supplied by Saint after Saint, who seemed to be nearer to humanity. Such a process was necessarily endless, and in fact it is but an expression of the inherent contradiction involved in the primary separation of the divine and the human, the sacred and the secular life; for where the divine is not found in the human but above and beyond it, the process of trying to bring them together necessarily leads to an infinite series. The Reformers were therefore justified in rejecting the Mariolatry and Saint-worship of the medieval church, and insisting that the "eternal womanly" is to be sought in the ordinary life of the wife and mother.

When Dante goes on to speak of the Christian life he separates, as we should expect, between the natural and theological virtues. The highest point reached by philosophical reflection, as it appears in Plato, Aristotle and Virgil, cannot satisfy the innate desire for truth. The noblest minds of antiquity are represented as consumed by a fruitless longing, and this indeed constitutes their only punishment. In a pathetic passage (Pg. 3, 43) Virgil, after referring to the sad state of "Plato, Aristotle and many others," "bowed his head, said no more, and remained disquieted." No one has ever ascended to Paradise "who did

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not believe in Christ, either before or after he was nailed to the cross." Faith in Christ is thus the precondition of righteousness. Nor is it enough to possess this faith, but it must be openly professed. Statius, convinced by the unconscious prophecy of Christianity contained in Virgil's picture of the return of righteousness and of the first age of man, accepted the Christian faith, but was "through fear a Christian only in secret, for a long time making outward profession of paganism"; and for his pusillanimity he was confined to the fourth circle of Purgatory for more than four centuries. Faith must manifest itself in act, or the heathen will put Christians to shame. "Many cry, Christ, Christ, who in the judgment shall be far less near to him than those who had no knowledge of Christ; and such Christians the Ethiop shall condemn, when the two companies shall be separated, the one rich to everlasting, the other poor." Faith is "that precious jewel, on which all goodness rests." It is the "entrance to the way of salvation" by which the Kingdom of heaven has been peopled. Heresy, which is the opposite of faith, often springs from pride, as in the case of Sabellius and Arius, who first swerved from the true path and were then too proud to acknowledge their error. All light is from above, darkness is the shadow of the flesh. The false doctrines of heretics are like words which cut and disfigure the scriptures, and therefore in the Inferno the heretics are imprisoned in burning tombs. With Faith is closely connected the virtue of Hope, which is "the sure expectation of the glory that shall be, and comes from divine grace and foregoing merit." God is the object of the Love of all the saints. Both reason and revelation teach us that the more we know Him as he is, the more must love be enkindled in our hearts. And he who is possessed by the love of God will also love His creatures. Without these three virtues no man, however blameless his life, can enter into the kingdom of heaven.

The cardinal virtues, which are all reducible to Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Courage, prepare the way for the theological virtues, which only came to earth with the advent of Christ. The Christian life assumes two forms, the contemplative and the active, the former consisting in the contemplation of divine truth, the latter exhibiting itself in outward activity. The contemplative life, so far as it existed prior to Christianity, is

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typically presented as Rachel, the active life as Leah ; the Christian life of contemplation is symbolized by Beatrice, the active life by Mathilda. By a special vow the Christian may dedicate himself to the practice of good works, which are not essential to salvation. Thus he gives up his free will, the most precious treasure which he possesses. The Church may liberate the individual from his vow, but not without substituting something else in its stead. Dante has the highest reverence for the religious orders, which he regards as specially instituted in the providence of God for the salvation of the Church ; and hence he depicts with especial sympathy the lives of St. Francis and St. Dominic. These self-sacrificing men seemed to him perfect types of the ideal life.

The contrast of the cardinal and the theological virtues, and of the contemplative and the active life, is another instance of the dualism which pervades the whole of Dante's thought. He admits, indeed, that the virtues of Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Courage, to which, following Plato, he reduces all the natural virtues, assume a new form under the influence of the theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Love ; but this does not prevent him from regarding the contemplative as higher than the active life. Now, we need not repeat what has already been said as to the confusion between faith as the informing spirit of the Christian life and faith as the acceptance of a particular formulation of doctrine. Taking faith in the former sense, we see at once that it cannot be separated from the natural virtues without losing its meaning. As Dante himself admits, faith must realize itself in action ; in other words, only he who finds his life by losing it in others is possessed of a saving faith. But the so-called "cardinal" virtues are just the form which that faith assumes in actual life. Prudence or practical wisdom is the wise adaptation of means to ends in so far as it makes for the social good, and thus it implies the pursuit of all those sciences by which the welfare of the whole is realized. To have a genuine faith is to discharge faithfully our special function in the social organism. Thus we can see how the Christian idea of faith spiritualizes the physical and moral sciences by employing them as the means for the development of an ideal humanity. To conceive of them as purely secular is to separate what elsewhere Dante himself joins

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together, namely, the love of God and the love of man ; and the separation inevitably leads to the false and pernicious doctrine, that the social well-being may be left to take care of itself. How otherwise than by the exercise of practical wisdom is the true means of promoting the common good to be discovered ?

What has been said of Prudence is of course equally true of the other cardinal virtues : indeed these are simply aspects of the same thing. Justice, as the means of preserving and promoting social order, is simply practical wisdom applied to the sphere of politics ; Temperance is the wise self-restraint which is essential in the discharge of all social functions ; and Courage is the moral heroism which shrinks from no danger that has to be faced in the discharge of one's duty, though for historical reasons it is apt to be limited to the military profession. Thus all the natural virtues are the expression of an active, practical faith.

As the natural virtues all spring from one principle, so the three theological virtues are merely different aspects of that principle. Hope is that attitude of the religious mind in which the individual lives in the practical conviction that the soul of the world is good. It is thus the antithesis of all pessimism. In the consciousness that all things work together for good, man is lifted above the anxieties and disappointments of his every-day life, and sees already fulfilled in idea what in actual fact is only in process of fulfilment. Hope, in short, as a form of the religious consciousness, is the conviction that evil must be overcome by the irresistible power of goodness. And, finally, Love is manifestly the expression of faith and hope ; it is the Christian spirit realizing itself in the Christian life through all the channels by which the ideal of humanity is advanced.

Now, although Dante has not entirely neglected this practical aspect of the Christian life, he cannot get rid of the medieval idea that the contemplative is higher than the active life. If this only meant that it is the religious consciousness which gives meaning to life by presenting it as the process in which the individual is enabled to view his own petty efforts as contributing to the triumph of goodness, there would be nothing to object. But, viewed in this way, the opposition of the contemplative and the active life is meaningless. The true life of man is neither in reflection nor in action, but in both ; in other words, it is not the

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special function which a man discharges, but the spirit in which he discharges it, that makes his life divine. Dante's contrast of the contemplative and the active life does not correspond to the life of the thinker as distinguished from the life of the practical man, but to the sequestered life of the monk or nun as compared with the every-day life of ordinary humanity. But, in admitting that the active life is compatible at all with the life of faith, he has practicably surrendered the opposition of secular and sacred. If the contemplative life, as he understands it, is higher than the active, the latter must be essentially inconsistent with the Christian ideal; the logical inference from which is, that all should take upon themselves the vows of poverty, celibacy and obedience; *i.e.*, that society and even the race itself should cease to exist.

How strong a hold this idea of the religious life as something apart from the secular life had upon Dante's mind is shown by his maintaining that there are good works which are not essential to salvation. No greater contradiction of the Christian ideal of life could well be conceived. For that ideal throws into relief the inadequacy of any actual realization of the supreme good; and it is the contrast between the ideal and the real which is the source and inspiration of all spiritual progress, whether in the individual or the race. Only an external and mechanical conception of the religious life can permit anyone to imagine for a moment that a man may claim merit for anything that he can do. With all his fine insight and strong religious spirit Dante here shows in the most unmistakable way the limitations of his time. In a sense no doubt he was a "Reformer before the Reformation," but only in the sense in which all the best minds of the Middle Ages might be so named. Theoretically he has not grasped the principle which lay at the very heart of the Reformation, the principle that works are not the source of merit, but only the outward manifestation of the life of the spirit.

JOHN WATSON.

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